

## **Chapter 1**

### **Population Estimates**

Table 1 presents estimates of the voting age population (VAP) and the citizen voting age population (CVAP) in the United States for the November 2, 2004, general election. The VAP is defined as all persons age 18 and older residing within a jurisdiction—a county, parish, or township, depending on where elections are administered. Estimated VAP for November 2004 is constructed from U.S. Census Bureau population estimates by age and jurisdiction for July 1 of a given year. (Census estimates are available at <http://www.census.gov>.)

As of this writing, the July 1, 2004, VAP estimates have not been released, but they are anticipated by the end of the summer of 2005. We constructed the November 2, 2004, estimated VAP used in this report by extrapolating forward the difference between the July 1, 2002, and July 1, 2003, census estimates. This method constructs the best approximation of the November 2, 2004, VAP for local election jurisdictions. But we recognize that the method may incorrectly estimate population for a jurisdiction, such as underestimating population growth, particularly for jurisdictions with small populations, such as townships. To construct the best VAP available estimate for townships, we assigned the ratio of the newly released Census Bureau July 1, 2004, total population estimate from the county to the township to apportion our November 2, 2004, county-level VAP estimate to the township.

It is important to understand that VAP is not a perfect estimate of those eligible to vote. VAP does not include estimates of voting-eligible persons living overseas. It includes persons who are ineligible to vote under state laws, such as noncitizens; ineligible felons, depending on state law; those determined by a court to be incompetent; those who are not registered to vote; and persons who might have moved recently. But obtaining uniform data for jurisdictions nationwide for each of these circumstances is impossible, and therefore, no possible adjustment can be made to the base data.

We can, however, account for noncitizens, the largest ineligible population, by estimating the CVAP. We constructed CVAP by applying the 2000 census estimate of CVAP (which was obtained by Election Data Services as a special tabulation from the Census Bureau) as a percentage of the 2000 census VAP to the November 2, 2004, population estimates described above. This method implicitly assumes that the April 1, 2000, report of the percentage citizens of VAP is equal to the November 4, 2004, percentage citizens of VAP.

Methods exist to estimate the other eligible and ineligible populations, such as accounting for the overseas eligible population and ineligible felons from Department of Justice reports (McDonald and Popkin 2001; McDonald 2002), but no sound methodology exists to apportion these populations to counties and townships. For consistency across reporting units, we do not further adjust CVAP to attempt to better measure the voting-eligible population.

## Applicability and Coverage

VAP and CVAP estimates were available for all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. The Census Bureau did not produce post-2000 population estimates for Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands.

## Population Estimates

Table 1 presents population estimates for the analysis of the survey results. Table 1 provides estimates of the VAP and the CVAP, and calculates CVAP as a percentage of VAP. The column headings in Table 1 are as follows:

### Column Headings for Table 1. Population Estimates

Col.-	Heading	Description
1	Code	State census code
2	Name	Respondent to Election Day Survey
3	Jurisdiction	Number of local election jurisdictions from survey question 22
4	2004 Estimated VAP	Estimated November 2004 voting age population (VAP)
5	Cases	Number of jurisdictions for which VAP estimates were constructed
6	2004 Estimated. Citizen VAP	Estimated November 2004 citizen voting age population (CVAP)
7	Cases	Number of jurisdictions for which CVAP estimates were constructed
8	Percent 2004 Citizen of Total VAP	Estimated November 2004 CVAP (col. 6) divided by estimated November 2004 total VAP (col. 4)
9	Cases	Number of jurisdictions for which VAP and CVAP estimates were constructed
10	Cases > 100%	Number of jurisdictions where estimated November 2004 CVAP is greater than total November 2004 VAP

## Analysis of Estimates

The following is our analysis of the data in Table 1 for each of the 18 cross-tabulation factors described earlier in this report. A description of each factor follows a general summary and state-level summary of the population data.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) Regions                                     | 10) Changed Voting Equipment since 2000   |
| 2) Urban to Rural                              | 11) Statewide Voter Registration Database |
| 3) Size of Jurisdiction                        | 12) Election Day Registration             |
| 4) Race and Ethnicity                          | 13) Provisional Ballot Acceptance         |
| 5) Median Income                               | 14) No Excuse Absentee Balloting          |
| 6) High School Education                       | 15) Early Voting                          |
| 7) Section 203 Language Minority Requirements  | 16) Battleground States                   |
| 8) Section 5 Preclearance of Voting Procedures | 17) Presidential Margin of Victory        |
| 9) Type of Voting Equipment                    | 18) Red versus Blue Jurisdictions         |

### Summary

The uneven distribution of noncitizens across jurisdictions underscores the importance of using CVAP in addition to VAP when drawing conclusions of survey results across jurisdictions. If VAP were used, rates would be underestimated for jurisdictions with high proportions of noncitizens relative to other jurisdictions. Jurisdictions with high proportions of noncitizens can be found in Western states, particularly California; in urban and small cities; and in Section 203 and Section 5 Voting Rights jurisdictions, among other categories.

### States

Nationally, the 2000 census reported that 92.4 percent of the U.S. voting age population are citizens. The distribution of VAP and CVAP across the states and within cross-tabulations is reported in Table 1. California has the largest voting-age population at 26.6 million. California also has the largest noncitizen population, with only 81.3 percent of the VAP classified as citizens in the 2000 census. West Virginia has the smallest noncitizen population as a percentage of the VAP, with 99.4 percent of the VAP classified as citizens.

### Regions

The largest proportion of non-citizens are located in the West, where only 86.8 percent of VAP are citizens. Jurisdictions located in the Midwest have the highest proportion of citizens, with 96.3 percent. Jurisdictions in the Northeast and the South fall in the middle with 91.8 percent and 93.8 percent citizens, respectively. In all, 224 jurisdictions were reported as having zero noncitizens among the VAP, primarily located in regions outside the West.

### Urban to Rural

Among urban to rural categories, urban jurisdictions have the lowest percentage of citizens, 87.1 percent. The remaining categories fall between 94.4 percent citizen in suburban to 97.3 percent citizen in rural jurisdictions.

### Size of Jurisdiction

The smallest jurisdictions have citizenship of 99.3 percent of VAP. For small- to medium-sized jurisdictions up to 250,000 VAP, citizenship is above 96.0 percent. For the 23 largest jurisdictions in the nation, those with 1,000,000 or more, citizens are 82.6 percent of the VAP.

### *Race and Ethnicity*

Among racial and ethnic categories, predominantly Hispanic jurisdictions have the lowest percentage of citizens, only 75.7 percent. In predominantly non-Hispanic White jurisdictions, greater than 93.4 percent are citizens, and up to 98.0 percent are citizens in predominantly non-Hispanic Native American jurisdictions.

### *Median Income*

Lower income jurisdictions tend to have higher citizenship rates. The percentage of citizens among the voting age population ranges from 89.7 percent to 96.6 percent.

### *High School Education*

Jurisdictions with lower percentages of the population completing high school have higher percentages of noncitizens. Jurisdictions with below a 60 percent high school completion rate have an 86.2 percent citizenship rate. Those above 90 percent high school completion report 94.0 percent citizenship among the VAP.

### *Section 203 Language Minority Requirements*

Jurisdictions covered under Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act have higher percentages of noncitizens. Section 203 jurisdictions are 85.4 percent citizen, while noncovered jurisdictions are 95.8 percent citizen.

### *Section 5 Preclearance of Voting Procedures*

Jurisdictions covered under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act have higher percentages of noncitizens. Section 5 jurisdictions are 90.3 percent citizen, while other noncovered jurisdictions are 93.1 percent citizen.

### *Type of Voting Equipment*

Jurisdictions that use hand-counted paper ballots have the highest proportion of citizens, 98.1 percent, which may be because paper ballots are primarily used by smaller jurisdictions. Cross-tabulations with other types of voting equipment are in the low- to mid-90 percent range.

### *Changed Voting Equipment since 2000*

Jurisdictions that changed voting equipment from the 2000 election have a lower percentage of citizens, 88.7 percent, than other jurisdictions, 94.1 percent. The difference is partially a consequence of voting equipment changes in populous southern California and southern Florida counties with high noncitizen populations.

### *Statewide Voter Registration Database*

States with statewide voter registration databases have a slightly higher percentage of citizens, 95.3 percent, than those that do not, 91.6 percent.

### *Election Day Registration*

States with Election Day Registration (EDR) have higher percentages of citizens, 97.2 percent, than those that do not, 92.1 percent. This difference is primarily attributed to the number of EDR states in

the Northeast and Midwest. The two Western states with EDR, Idaho and Wyoming, also have high levels of citizenship.

#### *Provisional Ballot Acceptance*

States that allow provisional ballots to be counted if cast outside a voter's home precinct have a lower percentage of citizens, 90.5 percent, than those that accept ballots cast in home precincts only, 93.5 percent, or do not have provisional ballots, 97.0 percent.

#### *No Excuse Absentee Balloting*

States with no excuse absentee balloting have lower percentages of citizens than other states, 90.0 percent versus 93.9.

#### *Early Voting*

States with early voting have a lower percentage of citizens, 89.7 percent, than states that do not have early voting, 94.6 percent.

#### *Battleground States*

Battleground states in the November 2004 general election had a higher percentage of citizens than those that were not battleground states, 95.0 percent versus 91.0 percent.

#### *Presidential Margin of Victory*

There is no pattern of citizenship among jurisdictions within states by presidential margin of victory. The percentage of citizens ranges from 90.7 percent to 96.3 percent among the categories.

#### *Red versus Blue Jurisdictions*

Jurisdictions won by Bush tend to have higher percentages of citizens, from 92.9 percent to 95.9 percent, than jurisdictions won by Kerry, from 87.5 percent to 93.9 percent.

### **REFERENCES**

- McDonald, Michael P. "The Turnout Rate Among Eligible Voters for U.S. States, 1980-2000." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 2 (2002): 199-212.
- McDonald, Michael P., and Samuel Popkin. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001): 963-74.

EAC Election Day Survey					Cases = Number of Jurisdictions Reporting Subject Matter			
Population Estimates 2004 General Election								
Updated: 11/30/2005 18:22:35								
Code	Name	Election Administration Jurisdictions	2004 Estimated VAP	Cases	2004 Estimated Citizen Vap	Cases	Percent 2004 Citizen of Total VAP	Cases > 100%
01	Alabama	67	3,425,821	67	3,376,112	67	98.5	67
02	Alaska	1	470,027	1	454,708	1	96.7	1
04	Arizona	15	4,194,390	15	3,770,203	15	89.9	15
05	Arkansas	75	2,069,560	75	2,024,200	75	97.8	75
06	California	58	26,647,955	58	21,671,670	58	81.3	58
08	Colorado	64	3,456,263	64	3,233,934	64	93.6	64
09	Connecticut	169	2,684,372	169	2,514,118	169	93.7	169
10	Delaware	3	629,009	3	605,748	3	96.3	3
11	District of Columbia	1	451,039	1	405,042	1	89.8	1
12	Florida	67	13,441,568	67	12,076,990	67	89.8	67
13	Georgia	159	6,534,852	159	6,159,729	159	94.3	159
15	Hawaii	5	980,154	5	900,647	5	91.9	5
16	Idaho	44	1,025,457	44	986,664	44	96.2	44
17	Illinois	110	9,518,482	110	8,704,683	110	91.5	110
18	Indiana	92	4,635,665	92	4,534,543	92	97.8	92
19	Iowa	99	2,274,174	99	2,221,452	99	97.7	99
20	Kansas	105	2,049,512	105	1,972,661	105	96.3	105
21	Kentucky	120	3,157,197	120	3,110,923	120	98.5	120
22	Louisiana	64	3,358,452	64	3,305,044	64	98.4	64
23	Maine	517	1,037,050	506	1,022,248	505	98.6	505
24	Maryland	24	4,200,854	24	3,940,414	24	93.8	24
25	Massachusetts	351	4,956,454	351	4,577,316	351	92.4	351
26	Michigan	83	7,616,344	83	7,369,271	83	96.8	83
27	Minnesota	87	3,872,349	87	3,736,578	87	96.5	87
28	Mississippi	82	2,139,817	82	2,118,126	82	99.0	82
29	Missouri	116	4,344,660	116	4,263,417	116	98.1	116
30	Montana	56	715,495	56	709,037	56	99.1	56
31	Nebraska	93	1,316,475	93	1,272,795	93	96.7	93
32	Nevada	17	1,737,781	17	1,536,969	17	88.4	17
33	New Hampshire	242	1,000,557	239	975,065	238	97.5	238
34	New Jersey	21	6,573,010	21	5,871,639	21	89.3	21
35	New Mexico	33	1,402,999	33	1,316,405	33	93.8	33
36	New York	58	14,790,540	58	12,924,433	58	87.4	58
37	North Carolina	100	6,414,796	100	6,129,162	100	95.5	100
38	North Dakota	53	490,179	53	484,528	53	98.8	53
39	Ohio	88	8,680,792	88	8,532,693	88	98.3	88
40	Oklahoma	77	2,664,520	77	2,589,344	77	97.2	77
41	Oregon	36	2,766,936	36	2,594,416	36	93.8	36
42	Pennsylvania	67	9,615,172	67	9,395,376	67	97.7	67
44	Rhode Island	39	842,911	39	785,112	39	93.1	39
45	South Carolina	46	3,174,262	46	3,106,879	46	97.9	46
46	South Dakota	66	576,196	66	569,346	66	98.8	66
47	Tennessee	95	4,516,679	95	4,423,433	95	97.9	95
48	Texas	254	16,263,861	254	14,443,878	254	88.8	254
49	Utah	29	1,645,366	29	1,548,346	29	94.1	29
50	Vermont	246	487,977	246	478,434	246	98.0	246
51	Virginia	134	5,695,220	134	5,388,364	134	94.6	134
53	Washington	39	4,732,158	39	4,414,206	39	93.3	39
54	West Virginia	55	1,430,254	55	1,422,042	55	99.4	55
55	Wisconsin	1,910	4,188,206	1,894	4,091,525	1,888	97.7	1,888
56	Wyoming	23	386,170	23	380,564	23	98.5	23
60	American Samoa	1						
66	Guam	1						
72	Puerto Rico	110						
78	Virgin Islands	1						
Total		6,568	221,279,989	6,425	204,440,432	6,417	92.4	6,417
Maximum		1,910	26,647,955	1,894	21,671,670	1,888	99.4	1,888
Average		119	4,338,823	125	4,008,635	125	95.1	125
Minimum		1	386,170	1	380,564	1	81.3	1

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Code	Name							Cases > 100%
Election Administration								
Voting Equipment Used in 2004 General Election								
	None / Unknown	908	14,612,312	775	13,583,011	770	93.0	770
	Punch card	260	19,552,003	260	18,376,609	260	94.0	260
	Lever	394	26,918,948	394	24,625,772	394	91.5	394
	Paper	1,734	3,308,339	1,724	3,246,269	1,722	98.1	1,722
	Optical scan	2,541	88,323,954	2,541	81,601,352	2,540	92.4	2,540
	Electronic	608	52,761,316	608	48,448,239	608	91.8	608
	Multiple Systems	123	15,803,117	123	14,559,180	123	92.1	123
Changed Voting Equipment Since 2000 General Election								
	Yes	1,753	69,121,688	1,747	61,301,531	1,743	88.7	1,743
	No	4,815	152,158,301	4,678	143,138,901	4,674	94.1	4,674
State Wide Voter Registration System in Place								
	Yes	1,335	48,152,870	1,335	45,913,343	1,335	95.3	1,335
	No	5,233	173,127,119	5,090	158,527,089	5,082	91.6	5,082
Election Day Registration								
	Yes	2,823	11,509,789	2,793	11,192,644	2,785	97.2	2,785
	No	3,745	209,770,200	3,632	193,247,788	3,632	92.1	3,632
Provisional Ballot Acceptance								
	In Overall Jurisdiction	1,162	88,988,159	1,162	80,531,790	1,162	90.5	1,162
	In Precinct Only	4,350	124,866,238	4,334	116,703,559	4,328	93.5	4,328
	None	1,056	7,425,592	929	7,205,083	927	97.0	927
No Excuse Absentee Balloting								
	Yes	3,781	85,693,320	3,754	77,136,882	3,747	90.0	3,747
	No	2,787	135,586,669	2,671	127,303,550	2,670	93.9	2,670
Early Voting Allowed								
	Yes	1,701	99,654,623	1,701	89,386,654	1,701	89.7	1,701
	No	4,867	121,625,366	4,724	115,053,778	4,716	94.6	4,716
Covered By Section 203, Language Minority Requirements								
	Yes	468	72,670,065	468	62,053,610	468	85.4	468
	No	6,100	148,609,924	5,957	142,386,822	5,949	95.8	5,949
Covered By Section 5 of Voting Rights Act								
	Yes	880	56,030,484	879	50,618,730	879	90.3	879
	No	5,688	165,249,505	5,546	153,821,702	5,538	93.1	5,538

EAC Election Day Survey						Cases = Number of Jurisdictions Reporting Subject Matter			
Population Estimates 2004 General Election									
Updated: 11/30/2005 18:22:35		Election Administration	2004 Estimated VAP	Cases	2004 Estimated Citizen Vap	Cases	Percent 2004 Citizen of Total VAP	Cases	Cases > 100%
Code	Name	Jurisdictions							
Demographics									
Region									
	Northeast	1,710	41,988,043	1,696	38,543,741	1,694	91.8	1,694	
	South	1,423	79,567,761	1,423	74,625,430	1,423	93.8	1,423	
	Midwest	2,902	49,563,034	2,886	47,753,492	2,880	96.3	2,880	
	West	420	50,161,151	420	43,517,769	420	86.8	420	
	Territories	113							
Urban to Rural									
	Urban	567	82,075,044	567	71,502,542	567	87.1	567	
	Suburban	871	59,268,529	870	55,930,689	870	94.4	870	
	Small Towns	1,710	56,213,989	1,700	53,926,100	1,700	95.9	1,700	
	Rural	3,307	23,722,427	3,288	23,081,101	3,280	97.3	3,280	
	Not Available - Territories	113							
Size of Jurisdiction (VAP)									
	< 1,000	1,761	899,315	1,759	893,183	1,754	99.3	1,754	
	>=1,000 to <3,500	1,165	2,267,899	1,165	2,237,383	1,165	98.7	1,165	
	>=3,500 to <10,000	1,043	6,692,594	1,043	6,579,642	1,043	98.3	1,043	
	>=10,000 to <50,000	1,704	38,463,619	1,704	37,554,218	1,704	97.6	1,704	
	>=50,000 to <250,000	586	60,558,039	586	58,162,583	586	96.0	586	
	>=250,000 to <1,000,000	140	63,995,785	140	59,038,383	140	92.3	140	
	>=1,000,000	25	48,402,590	25	39,975,040	25	82.6	25	
	Not Available	144	148	3					
Race and Ethnicity									
	Predominantly NH White	6,264	204,258,977	6,262	190,732,668	6,257	93.4	6,257	
	Predominantly NH Black	85	4,061,404	85	3,830,613	85	94.3	85	
	Predominantly NH Native American	24	268,560	24	263,114	24	98.0	24	
	Predominantly Hispanic	50	12,658,812	50	9,583,359	50	75.7	50	
	Not Available	145	32,236	4	30,678	1	95.6	1	
Median Income									
	< \$25,000	298	3,079,342	298	2,895,857	298	94.0	298	
	>=\$25,000 to <\$30,000	884	11,220,765	884	10,840,802	884	96.6	884	
	>=\$30,000 to <\$35,000	1,372	28,691,481	1,372	27,695,081	1,372	96.5	1,372	
	>=\$35,000 to <\$40,000	1,215	50,829,468	1,215	46,977,393	1,215	92.4	1,215	
	>=\$40,000 to <\$45,000	881	49,717,211	881	44,605,486	881	89.7	881	
	>=\$45,000 to <\$50,000	587	27,092,115	587	25,051,123	587	92.5	587	
	>=\$50,000	1,180	50,649,351	1,179	46,374,633	1,179	91.6	1,179	
	Not Available	151	256	9	57	1	100.0	1	
High School Education									
	< 60%	126	2,401,104	126	2,070,013	126	86.2	126	
	>=60% to <70%	661	22,653,549	661	19,248,863	661	85.0	661	
	>=70% to <80%	1,646	64,350,042	1,646	58,555,481	1,646	91.0	1,646	
	>=80% to <90%	3,111	113,912,781	3,111	107,682,045	3,111	94.5	3,111	
	>=90%	873	17,930,226	872	16,853,352	872	94.0	872	
	Not Available	151	32,287	9	30,678	1	95.6	1	



EAC Election Day Survey						Cases = Number of Jurisdictions Reporting Subject Matter			
Population Estimates 2004 General Election									
Updated: 11/30/2005 18:22:35		Election Administration	2004 Estimated VAP	Cases	2004 Estimated Citizen Vap	Cases	Percent 2004 Citizen of Total VAP	Cases	Cases > 100%
Code	Name	Jurisdictions							
<b>Political</b>									
<b>Battleground States in 2004 Presidential Election</b>									
	Yes	3,093	76,824,163	3,074	72,974,742	3,067	95.0	3,067	
	No	3,475	144,455,826	3,351	131,465,690	3,350	91.0	3,350	
<b>Margin of Victory in 2004 Presidential Election</b>									
	< 2.5%	515	19,185,454	515	18,028,997	515	94.0	515	
	>=2.5% to < 5.0%	476	14,781,804	471	13,930,907	471	94.2	471	
	>=5.0% to < 7.5%	510	17,701,432	508	16,058,853	508	90.7	508	
	>=7.5% to < 10.0 %	429	10,292,117	428	9,914,375	428	96.3	428	
	>=10.0 %	4,492	159,310,466	4,486	146,498,703	4,482	92.0	4,482	
<b>Red vs Blue Jurisdictions Won By in 2004 Presidential Election</b>									
	Bush > 55%	3,115	86,412,155	3,112	82,498,439	3,108	95.5	3,108	
	Bush 50% to 55%	982	32,877,232	977	30,555,098	977	92.9	977	
	Bush < 50%	136	2,380,942	132	2,284,492	132	95.9	132	
	Kerry < 50%	150	5,883,881	150	5,523,776	150	93.9	150	
	Kerry 50% to 55%	872	29,466,232	872	27,348,806	872	92.8	872	
	Kerry > 55%	1,161	64,245,074	1,159	56,215,492	1,159	87.5	1,159	
	Tied	25	14,267	21	14,123	17	99	17	